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565 622 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva, probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called hand some. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa [164] Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

● [701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, con- 554 stituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, 571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

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If no agreement could be reached, war followed. These ambassadors, according to the information that I could obtain, appear always to have been men of some tribal importance, who, through relationships of marriage, adoption, or *e inoa,* had some family bond in the enemy tribe that would give them protection.

Before a great war the chief of the aggressive tribe or the one that expected to be attacked sent one of his warriors to summon his allies. This messenger was called *pa'e vi'i (pa'e,* head-dress; *vi'i,* to make a tour). Dordillon (8) gives *pa'e vi'i toua,* with the meaning to announce war, to invite to war. This messenger wore on his back the leaf of a cocoanut tree shredded into small strips *(kahu koua'ehi),* a sign of *tapu.* Following his call, all the fighting men betook themselves to the precincts of the chief who was summoning them. The blowing of the chief's conch trumpet meant a summons to war. The trumpet was not carried into battle, however. When the fighters were all gathered together in the warrior's home, a chant called the *puko toua,* or *pa'e vi'i toua,* was intoned by the warriors. Formal declaration of war *(utu po)* consisted in going on the mountain tops in view of the enemy tribe and uttering war cries, or, in later times, of firing a few gun-shots. If it were an offensive war for revenge victims, three special discharges of musketry were made: the first, called *oho tae (oho,* be angry; *tae,* accomplish), in the morning; the second, *tuhi toto (tuhi,* sign; *toto,* blood), at noon; the third, *tamoe oe (tamoe,* watch at night with dead; *oe,* you), in the evening (7).

War Leaders and Fighters

Chiefs sometimes went into battle, but usually did not go. It would appear that chiefs were seldom actual war leaders. This would be a natural result of the fact that the position of civil chief resulted rather from wealth than prowess. Every head of a tribe had, doubtless, been a fighter in his youth, but it was the chief with whom lay the responsibility, initiative, and decision, and from whom came the orders which motivated the tribe in war. His was the warriors' house, which was in reality merely one of the houses of his establishment; and his was the general direction of all labor connected with war on a large scale: the assembling of allies, the feeding of the fighters, the building of war canoes, the dispatch of the war party, and such defensive measures and preparations for flight as will be described later.

The actual war leader was called *toa,* which means ironwood, male, brave, strong. The *toa* performed no labor other than fighting. Of these there were always few in a tribe; sometimes only one, sometimes two, three, or four. The position and right to the title was attained solely

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701 through prowess, as a result of strength, skill, and fearlessness, which singled a man out as being a leader in battle. The *toa* should not be called war chiefs, because it is clear that they functioned only as assistants of the tribal chiefs in organizing the tribe for war, and that in the totally unorganized fighting they were merely leaders by example. When the fighting men of the tribe, who were called inclusively on Nuku Hiva *mata hoka (mata,* eye, face; *hoka,* courageous), were summoned, it was to the *toa* that the chief gave his orders. The *toa* went himself to perform the duty or sent someone else. It was frequently, perhaps usually, an administrative *tuhuna* who went as *pa'e vi'i.* As an executive under the chief, the *toa* had also policing duties, if they may be called such. If, for instance, servants in the chief's house had displeased him, had left his establishment, or had insulted him by breaking a *tapu,* the chief would send one of his *toa* after the culprit to kill him. In battle, the *toa* went ahead of other fighting men, demonstrating their valor, seeking to add to their reputation for prowess, and at the same time stimulating the bravery of the tribesmen behind them, who were inspired to emulate their fighting.

THE WARRIOR'S HOUSE

712 347 A large house that stood on its own platform and was built in the usual style of native dwellings, though of greater length, was a part of the chief's establishment and as such was near his house and the dance area of the tribe. This house served more or less as a gathering place for men during peace times. But its main function was as an eating and sleeping place for men during the times of *tapu* on account of participation in fighting—times at which all association with women was absolutely forbidden. I never succeeded in obtaining any generic name for this [552] house. Every house of this type, on Nuku Hiva and also on Hiva Oa, had its own particular name. For instance, that of the warriors of the Pa'ahatai tribe at Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, was named Fiti Nui. This was not on or near the *tohua* of the tribe, but stood on a small hill on the southern side of the valley in a small stockaded fort named Akahua. Pua Ma'u warriors had also on the plateau behind their valley another sleeping house in which they stayed and ate during the wars that took them into that region. The warriors' house of one of the tribes in Tai o Hae was called Ha'e Mamane *(ha'e,* house; *mamane,* wrath); that in Tai-pi valley Melville calls Ti (Tai or Tae); that in Haka Ui was named Oho Toka. The fighters had their food brought to them in the warrior's house by men who were not combatants, never by women. The warriors' house at Taiohae was described to me as being not only a sleeping and eating place, but also a place in which the instruments, ornaments, and dress used in

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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

Below the priests ranked the *toa*, the important warriors. These were high in prestige but did not outrank the *tuhunga*, or skilled craftsmen. A good warrior had to take at least one head, and therefore the *toa* tended to be troublemakers and to stir up wars. The *toa* and the *tuhunga* together formed the council of the chief, though the household heads also sat in. There was no formal calling of the council. Toward evening everyone would drift over to the assembly place; perhaps the young people would start a dance; the older ones would sit and talk; questions would be thrashed out, and at the end of the evening the point would be settled. An agreement would be reached without anyone, even the chief, putting forward a vigorous opinion. The chiefs, in spite of their power, were never oppressive, for there was the con-